

Message Text

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TAGS: SP,NATO

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S BILATERAL WITH SPANISH FOREIGN
MINISTER OREJA: SPAIN AND NATO

REF: STATE 141244

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING THE JUNE 2 MEETING BETWEEN THE
SECRETARY AND SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA (REFTEL) THE
SECRETARY BRIEFED OREJA ON THE JUST-CONCLUDED NATO SUMMIT.
OREJA IN TURN BRIEFED THE SECRETARY ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL
ATMOSPHERE IN SPAIN REGARDING NATO, MAKING THE POINT THAT
SOCIALIST THINKING IS EVOLVING HELPFULLY. OREJA ALSO SAID
THAT RESOLUTION OF THE GIBRALTAR QUESTION WOULD ENHANCE
THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO WIN SUPPORT IN SPAIN FOR NATO
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MEMBERSHIP. OREJA THOUGHT THE NATO MEMBERSHIP ISSUE WOULD
BE DECIDED IN 1979. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SECRETARY'S RESUME OF THE NATO SUMMIT:

A. THE ALLIANCE STUDY, MADE OVER THE PAST YEAR, PROJECTING
THE EAST-WEST POLITICAL SITUATION OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL

YEARS WAS REVIEWED ON THE FIRST DAY. THE ALLIES CONCLUDED THAT THE TWO BASIC HARMEL OBJECTIVES SET FORTH IN 1967 WERE STILL VALID: (1) THE NATO DETERRENT MUST BE KEPT

STRONG AND CREDIBLE; AND (2) AT THE SAME TIME THERE SHOULD BE CONTINUING EFFORT ON THIS BASIS TO REACH DETENTE THROUGH POLITICAL AND ARMS CONTROL TALKS.

B. THE ALLIES CAREFULLY REVIEWED EFFORTS OF THE PAST YEAR TO MAKE ARMS PURCHASES A TWO-WAY STREET SO THAT MILITARY MATERIEL IS PROCURED FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC. THE U.S. HAD RECENTLY TAKEN A NUMBER OF POLITICALLY DIFFICULT DECISIONS THAT EMPHASIZE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE "TWO-WAY PRINCIPLE"; FOR EXAMPLE, THE DECISIONS TO BUY THE FRG TANK GUN AND THE BELGIAN MACHINE GUN. THERE WAS FURTHER DISCUSSION OF STANDARDIZATION.

C. THE ALLIES ADOPTED THE "LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM" (LTDP) WHICH IS DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN NATO MILITARILY AND TO SHARE THE BURDEN APPROPRIATELY AMONG THE ALLIES. IMPLEMENTATION IS BASED UPON THE THREE PERCENT INCREASE IN REAL TERMS IN THE ALLIES' NATIONAL DEFENSE BUDGET COMMITMENTS TO NATO EXPENDITURES AGREED TO AT THE LONDON SUMMIT A YEAR AGO. THE LTDP ALSO FOCUSES ON SPECIFIC TECHNICAL NEEDS IDENTIFIED BY TEN SEPARATE TASK FORCES OVER THE PAST YEAR.
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D. SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO WAS NOT DISCUSSED IN ANY SIGNIFICANT WAY. ONE OR TWO MEMBERS ASKED ABOUT THE STATUS OF SPAIN'S POTENTIAL INTEREST IN MEMBERSHIP. ALL RPT ALL THE ALLIES AGREED THAT IT IS SPAIN'S DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO SEEK MEMBERSHIP. IF SPAIN DOES DECIDE IT WISHES TO JOIN, IT WILL BE INVITED TO DO SO.

E. LATER IN THE CONVERSATION THE SECRETARY SAID THE ALLIES HAD LOOKED CLOSELY AT VARIOUS AFRICAN PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY SHABA. HE NOTED THAT THERE WILL BE A MEETING IN BRUSSELS, PLANNED SOME WEEKS AGO, JUNE 13-14 TO TALK WITH ZAIRIAN OFFICIALS ABOUT THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, ITS FINANCIAL NEEDS, ITS NEEDS FOR TECHNICAL EXPERTS AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AN IMF STABILIZATION PLAN. THE SECRETARY CONTINUED THAT IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO ASSURE SUFFICIENT SECURITY WITHIN ZAIRE SO THAT EUROPEAN TECHNICIANS ESSENTIAL TO THE PROPER FUNCTIONING OF ZAIRE'S ECONOMY WILL REMAIN. THE U.S. WILL HELP ON THE ZAIRE PROBLEM.

3. OREJA MADE THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS:

A. ON ZAIRE, SPAIN SHARES OUR VIEW, AND IF SPAIN CAN HELP IN SOME WAY, PLEASE LET HIM KNOW.

B. THE ALLIES' POSITION REGARDING SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO (PARA 2 D ABOVE) IS VERY GOOD, JUST RIGHT.

C. THE POLITICAL CLIMATE INSIDE SPAIN REGARDING NATO MEMBERSHIP IS BECOMING MORE FAVORABLE. PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO RECOGNIZE THAT FOR SPAIN THERE IS REALLY NO ALTERNATIVE TO BEING IN NATO. NEUTRALISM IS NOT AN ANSWER. THE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSOE) AND THE COMMUNISTS (PCE) HAVE CHANGED GREATLY IN THE LAST 9 MONTHS ON THE NATO QUESTION. THE PSOE, FOR EXAMPLE, NOW FAVORS A KIND OF "EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY" CONCEPT RATHER THAN CONFIDENTIAL

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NEUTRALISM. THAT IS PROGRESS. THE RECENT VISIT OF TWO SOCIALIST DEFENSE POLICY LEADERS TO THE U.S. AT U.S. INVITATION HAD VERY POSITIVE EFFECT. OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVING SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS, PARTICULARLY THE UK, FRG AND PORTUGAL, ALSO CAN HELP.

D. TIMING OF MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION. PERHAPS AT THE END OF 1978, AFTER THE NEW CONSTITUTION HAS BEEN APPROVED IN A REFERENDUM, THE QUESTION OF NATO MEMBERSHIP CAN BE PUT TO THE SPANISH PUBLIC. UP TO NOW THERE HAS BEEN NO PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF ADVANTAGES OR OF THE MAJOR ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE MEMBERSHIP DECISION. THE SPANISH PUBLIC WILL NEED THREE TO FIVE MONTHS OF OPEN DEBATE, AFTER WHICH THE PUBLIC WILL SURELY APPROVE. THEREFORE SPAIN WILL PROBABLY APPLY IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1979.

E. THE U.S. BASE RELATIONSHIP AND TREATY WITH SPAIN ARE NOT NOW CONTROVERSIAL AND, THEREFORE, SHOULD NOT RAISE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE DEBATE ON NATO MEMBERSHIP. THE SPANISH PUBLIC, INCLUDING PCE CHIEF CARRILLO, ACCEPTS THE PRESENT DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US.

F. GIBRALTAR IS THE ONE EXTERNAL ISSUE WHICH COULD AFFECT THE MEMBERSHIP QUESTION. ALTHOUGH GIBRALTAR IS A BILATERAL MATTER BETWEEN SPAIN AND BRITAIN, IT IS SO SENSITIVE IN THE PUBLIC MIND THAT IT COULD COLOR THE OVERALL ATTITUDE TOWARD NATO. OREJA SAID HE WILL BE SEEING FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AGAIN ON GIBRALTAR. THE BRITISH ATTITUDE ON THE PROBLEM IS NOW MUCH BETTER THAN IT WAS FOUR YEARS AGO. FOR ITS PART, SPAIN CANNOT ACCEPT THE PRESENCE OF A FOREIGN ENTITY IN IBERIA. HOWEVER, SPAIN CAN BE FLEXIBLE ON THE TERMS OF A SOLUTION, EVEN IF THE SOLUTION INVOLVES A LONG IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE. CONFIDENTIAL

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SPAIN RECOGNIZES THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS THAT BRITAIN HAS
IN TREATING THE GIBRALTAR QUESTION. (THE SECRETARY DID
NOT RPT NOT COMMENT ON OREJA'S DISCUSSION OF GIBRALTAR.)
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